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ABSTRACT

The Bantoanon language has borrowed from Spanish and English, as well as from Hiligaynon and Tagalog. Many of the borrowed words have been assimilated into the Bantoanon phonemic patterns. In this paper on Bantoanon phonology, discussion focuses on the phonology of native Bantoanon words and the added phonemic patterns and phonemes resulting from borrowing. Higher level phonology, syllable patterns, the phoneme, and residue (consonant clusters that appear as a result of the incorporation of loan words into the language) are described. (Contains 3 references.) (JP)

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Bantoanon Phonology

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Abbreviations and symbols

C	any consonant
V	any vowel
s.t.	something
.	syllable break/reduplicated syllable
ˈ	primary stress
ˌ	secondary stress
ː	length marker
ʔ	glottal stop
#	end of word
~	fluctuates with
ˈV	phonemic stress
˙	unreleased stop
[ ]	phonetic script
/ /	phonemic script
—›	movement of vowel variants
/	alternate related meaning

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0. Introduction

The Bantoanon language has borrowed from Spanish and English, as well as from Hiligaynon and Tagalog. All of these languages have exerted sociopolitical influence within the Bantoanon speaking area.[1]

Many of the borrowed words have been assimilated into the Bantoanon phonemic patterns. Many of these retain the phonemic structures of the donor language, and some show evidence of a mixing of different phonemic patterns. The existence of at least two phonemic subsystems[2] has made the analysis of Bantoanon rather complex, and like the approach of Robert A. French (1981) in 'The Phonology of Romblomanon', it was decided to focus first on the phonology of native Bantoanon[3] words and then to consider the added phonemic patterns and phonemes resulting from borrowing.

1. Higher level phonology

Higher level phonological units have been analyzed only briefly but some comments will be included here regarding them. In general, distinctive features which differentiate higher phonological units from lower ones also dominate the lower level features.

1.1. Phonological paragraph

The highest phonological unit noted is the phonological paragraph. Its distinctive features, which differentiate it from the lower level breath group, include a downward trend in pitch and intensity fading into silence over the last pause segment. These features are found at the end of a thought pattern, and they signal the end of a story or a change of topic.

1.2 Breath group

The breath group is the next lower phonological unit and is distributed in the phonological paragraph. It is also the unit in which one or more pause groups are distributed. The boundaries of the breath group are marked by silence and breath intake, as well as pitch variation and intensity. It begins with a mid pitch or high pitch falling to a down glide on the final syllable for a statement. For interrogatives marked by a question word, there is a slight up glide to a mid pitch level on the final syllable. Unmarked interrogatives have a more noticeable up glide to high pitch level on the final syllable. Other variations at this level include high pitch, intensity and speed at the onset of the breath group, and mid to high pitch, rising intensity and length on the final syllable of the unit.

1.3 Pause group

The pause group serves as the matrix for the stress group. The nucleus of a pause group is a stress group which carries more intensity than the other stress groups. Slightly higher pitch usually accompanies intensity. In present data, the nucleus occurs on the first stress group of the pause group unless the first stress group is a noun or adverb marker, then it occurs on the final stress group.

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[1] Bantoanon is spoken in the province of Romblon, in Southern Tagalog Region IV, in the central Philippines. It is one of the three languages spoken in the province, but not the lingua franca of the province. There are some estimated 50,000 speakers of the language, which is sometimes called Bantoanon and other times Odionganon or Asi. The speakers live on a number of small islands, but have one growing port of access, Odiongan. Bantoanon is classified in the same group of languages as Romblomanon and Hiligaynon (Zorc 1977).

[2] The 'two phonemic subsystems" refer to one based on Philippine languages (i.e. Bantoanon, Tagalog and Hiligaynon) in combination with an Indo-European one (i.e. Spanish and English).

[3] "Native Bantoanon" words are assumed to be without any recognizable Spanish or English influence. Any influence from other Philippine languages like Tagalog or Hiligaynon was considered part of the Bantoanon vocabulary, if they were either cognates or if the local Bantoanons considered the words to be so commonly used by them as to have become additional vocabulary as part of the Bantoanon language.

1.4 Stress group

Stress is contrastive in Bantoanon words. A stress group is the phonological unit within which syllables are distributed. The nucleus of each stress group is the primary stressed syllable ['V] which may be optionally followed by one unstressed syllable. There is a slight pause at the junctures of the stress groups and a slight rise of pitch and intensity at the stress group nucleus. If the stress group nucleus is an open syllable, the vowel is slightly lengthened. Stress groups consisting of from one to four syllables have been observed in the language.

Primary stress ['] favours the penultimate or ultimate syllable of the stress group. Secondary stress ["] may optionally occur on the second syllable preceding the syllable with primary stress. Secondary stress has the same features as primary stress, including vowel length on open syllables, but these features are weaker in all respects, especially pitch.

In stressed closed syllables the vowel appears louder, rather than lengthened, though sometimes there may be a slight lengthening on stressed, word final closed syllables.

Note: Glottal stop in the following phonetic transcriptions is signified by the symbol '?'.

['su:.ka]	'vinegar'
[su.'ka:]	'bone'
[ma.'gu:.yaŋ]	'parent'
[ma.gu.'yang]	'elder sibling'
[bɪ.'tu:.ka]	'stomach'
[ha.ri.'ʔɪn]	'where'
["sa.lum.'pa:.ti]	'dove'

If a word is formed by reduplication of the whole word base, secondary stress will usually occur on the same syllable as stress does in the base, but primary stress will shift to the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated base.

[ba.'rɪl]	'gun'	[ba."rɪl.'ba:.rɪl]	'toy gun'
[ba.'yay]	'house'	[ba."yay.'ba:.yay]	'playhouse'
['ta:.wo]	'person'	["ta.wo.'ta:.wo]	'miniature of a person'
[ba.'kay]	'buy'	[ba."kay.'ba:.kay]	'pretending to buy'

However, a contrast was noted between the following in which case the second word of a pair involves stress shift to the final syllable of the reduplicated base as well as the base when it is not word final.

[ba.'yay]	'house'
[ba."yay.'ba:.yay]	'playhouse'
[ba."yay.ba.'yay]	'house to house'
['li:bot]	'go around'
["li.bot:'li:.bot·]	'wander round and round'
[li."bot:li.'bot·]	'vagabond life'

2. Syllable patterns

A syllable consists of an obligatory peak preceded by an obligatory onset and followed by an optional coda CV(C). Vowel phonemes (V) fill the peak slots and consonant phonemes (C) fill the margins. In the examples cited, syllables are distinguished within a word by the use of a period. In native Bantoanon words there are two unambiguous syllable types: CV, CVC. These are unrestricted in their distribution. Spanish loan words have brought the three additional syllable types: CCV, CCVC, CVCC.

Syllables of the CV type are illustrated in the following words:

[ra]	/ra/	'also'
[si]	/si/	'naming particle'
['su:.so]	/súsu/	'breast'
[sa.'ŋah]	/saŋá/	'branch'
['si:.pʌʔ]	/sípaq/	'kick'
['gul.pi]	/gúlpi/	'suddenly'
[ka.'ba:.di]	/kabádi/	'woman'

Syllables of the CVC type are illustrated in the following words:

[nʌk-]	/nak/	'linking particle'
[kʌg]	/kag/	'*ang* particle'
[kuŋ]	/kuŋ/	'if'
['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'
[ha.'tor]	/hatúr/	'deliver'
['bu:.lɪg]	/búlig/	'help'
['tʌg.mi]	/tágmi/	'taste'

Syllables of the CCV type are illustrated in the following words:

['pri:.to]	/prítu/	'fry'
['ka:.tri]	/kátri/	'bed'
['tra:.to]	/trátu/	'order'

Syllables of the CCVC type are illustrated in the following words:

[plʌg.'ga:.na]	/plaŋgána/	'large basin'
[trʌŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever'

Syllables of the CVCC types are illustrated in the following words:

['pɪr.daym]	/pírdaym/	'amount'
['beyn.te]	/bíynti/	'twenty'

In the data collected so far, the first consonant of an onset cluster can be any consonant except /q/, /ŋ/, /w/, and /y/. The second consonant of an onset cluster is limited to /l/, /r/, /s/, /w/, and /y/. In a coda cluster the initial consonant is always /y/. The final consonant of a coda cluster is always a nasal.

2.1 Interpretation of suspect phones and sequences

In accordance with the nonsuspect syllable patterns, the high vocoids [i] and [u] are considered to be:

a) vowels /i/ and /u/ when they occur in syllable peaks,

b) consonants /w/ and /y/ when they occur in the margins.

Examples:

[tui'ar]	/tuyár/	'like that'
[uai'aʔ]	/wayáq/	'none'

There are no unambiguous VV sequences in the data. Any that appear to be a VV sequence are separated by a glottal stop when observed in careful speech. All word initial vocoids are preceded by glottal stop phonetically.

Examples:

[ʔɪ.'star]	/qistár/	'live/dwell'
[ʔu.'yan]	/quyán/	'rain'

Consonantal length has not been observed.

In keeping with nonsuspect syllable patterns, single consonants between syllable peaks are interpreted as filling the onset of the second syllable.

Examples:

[ma.'tah]	/matá/	'eye'
[bu.'boŋ]	/bubúŋ/	'roof ridgecap'

Similarly, all consonant sequences between syllable peaks for native Bantoanon words are interpreted as the first consonant filling the coda of the first syllable, and the second consonant filling the onset of the second syllable.

Examples:

[ʔɪn.'dɪʔ]	/qindíq/	'no'
[sug.roŋ]	/súgruŋ/	'join'

Some borrowed words have consonant sequences that must be interpreted as having a consonant cluster filling the onset of the first syllable, in keeping with the additional syllable patterns available for borrowed words.

Example:

[tra.'ba:.ho]	/trabáhu/	'work'

Palatalized and labialized sequences occur mostly in loan words, and only in the onset margin of syllables. Sequences that are written like Ciy/Cuw (where C is any consonant) as is the case in Pilipino, tend to be pronounced as two syllables, especially word medial. The Pilipino orthographical pattern using the intervening vowel does not cause much difficulty word initial, though here too the writers would normally exclude the intervening vowel if it were not for Pilipino education. Word medial the intervening vowel causes difficulty and should not be used.

Example:

(Pilipino)	['džar.yo]	/diyáryo/	'newspaper'
(Bantoanon)	[bʌ.'dzʌŋ]	/badsáŋ/ ~ /badyáng/	'never mind'

3. The phoneme

The phoneme is the minimal phonological unit, and it is the filler of the syllable slots (Pike 1967:302-306). There are nineteen segmental phonemes in native Bantoanon words, as well as the phoneme of stress. Of these, three are vowels and sixteen are consonants.

Vowels: /i, a, u/

Consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, h, s, l, r, m, n, ŋ, w, y/

3.1 Vowels

Vowels are distinguished from consonants by their syllabicity. The three vowels in native Bantoanon are produced, one each in the front, central and back areas of the mouth.

Length or lengthening [with devoicing] word final, is a feature of vowels in stressed open syllables. The word final [devoicing] is like [h], replacing the vowel length found nonword final. This [h] is interpreted as a feature of stressed final syllables rather than as the coda of a CVC syllable.

Since this is only a three vowel system each vowel has a wide range of phonetic variations, and it is often hard to distinguish the phonetic quality of variants.

There are two features in the phonological word that determine which vowel allophone occurs. These are stress and syllable shape.

Lower front and back vowel allophones occur poststress, and in all word final syllables. The central vowel remains low.

Higher allophones of front and back vowels generally occur in the stressed nonword final syllable. Lower allophones occur in prestress or poststress positions. The lowest allophones occur poststress or word final.

There is movement of vowel variants in closed syllables towards the position of the mid central vocoid [ʌ], which is slightly less in prestress and stressed positions. The front and back vowel allophones centralize and lower, and the central vowel rises.

Example: [i] —→ [ɪ], [u] —→ [o], [a] —→ [ʌ].

(Note: The [u] typed throughout this paper is the phone [ʊ] but since there is no distinct phone [ʊ] in this phonology, the paper is typed using the symbol [u]).

In words consisting of two closed syllables with nonword final stress and having the same vowel the vowel quality, which occurs in the stressed nucleus, also occurs in the unstressed nucleus.

Example:

['bug.tuŋ] ~ ['bog.toŋ]	/búgtuŋ/	'only child'

Sometimes the stressed syllable allophone will appear higher than the poststress one, in accordance with the general movement of vowels to the mid central vocoid position.

Examples:

['bug.toŋ]	/búgtuŋ/	'only child'
['kiː.wɪt]	/kíwit/	'go crooked'

In words of more than two syllables, the prestress and stressed syllables will manifest the higher allophone of front and back vowels,

Examples:

[bɪ.li.'bid]	/bilibíd/	'type of palm'
[sug.'buː.hʌn]	/sugbúhan/	'sunset'

but the lower allophone of the central vowel.

Example:

[ka.'lam.pʌg]	/kalámpag/	'noise when something falls'

The higher allophones of front and back vowels occur in stressed syllables. Allophones tend to be higher in closed syllables also. The lower allophones occur in word initial and word final positions in unstressed syllables, with the lowest allophone word final. The allophone [e] only occurs in open syllables in word initial and word final positions.

The higher allophone of the central vowel occurs in closed syllables. The low allophone occurs prestress or in stressed open syllables. Allophones tend to lower word final.

Allophone occurrence in closed syllables:

allophones	CVC.'CVC.CVC#	(# symbolizes end of word)
of /i/	ɪ ɪ ɪ	
/u/	u~o u~o o	
/a/	a~ʌ a~ʌ ʌ	

Allophone occurrence in open syllables:

allophones	CV.'C.V.CV#
of /i/	i~ɪ~e i i~ɪ~e
/u/	u~o u o
/a/	a~ʌ a a~ʌ

Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/i/	['ʔi:.hɪʔ]	/qíhiq/	'urinate'
	['pi:.sɪʔ]	/písiq/	'rope'
	['hi:.pɪr]	/hípir/	'store/pack'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

['gab.ʔi]~['gab.ʔe]	/gábqi/	'night'
['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'

Word final stress on closed syllables:

[ʔi.'wih]	/iwí/	'scorpion'
[ri.'ʔɪn]~[rɪ.'ʔɪn]	/riqín/	'where?'
[ʔi.'tom]~[ʔɪ.'tom]	/qitóm/	'black'

Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/u/	['ʔu:.yo]	/qúyu/	'head'
	['su:.so]	/súsu/	'breast'
	[ʔu.'yu:.nʌn]~[ʔo.'yu:.nʌn]	/quyúnan/	'pillow'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

['bug.toʔ]~['bog.toʔ]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'

Word final stress on closed syllables:

[ʔu.'nor]~[ʔo.'nor]	/qunúr/	'contents'

Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/a/	['ʔa:.ga]	/qága/	'morning'
	['sa:.bʌk]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	[ʔa.'sa:.wa]	/qasáwa/	'spouse'
	['ʔag.sʌm]~['ʔʌg.sʌm]	/qágsam/	'graze'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

['bak.tɪn]~['bʌk.tɪn]	/báktin/	'pig'
['pak.pʌk]~['pʌk.pʌk]	/pákpak/	'wing'

Word final stress on closed syllables:

[ʔu.'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
[sa.'bat]~[sa.'bʌt]	/sabát/	'answer'
[sak.'yan]~[sʌk.'yan]	/sakyán/	'ride'

The lowering of front and back vowel variants in relation to stress and syllable shape has been presented with a view to clarifying orthographical preferences that are made when Bantoanons use five vowels as in Spanish and English, rather than only three which are phonemically sufficient for native Bantoanon words.

3.1.1 Vowel contrasts

Bantoanon vowels:	front	central	back
	i	a	u

The vowel phonemes contrast in the following words:

Examples. Closed syllables:

a and i:	['raŋ.raŋ]	/ráŋraŋ/	'dry over fire'
	['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'
	Open syllables:		
	[ha.'li:]	/halí/	'here'
	[hɪ.'lʌw]	/hiláw/	'unripe'
	Word final open syllables:		
	['pa:.tʌ]	/páta/	'lower leg of animal'
	['pa:.ti]	/páti/	'believe'

Examples. Closed syllables:

a and u:	['bʌr.bʌr]	/bárbar/	'wind up'
	['bur.bor]	/búrbur/	'wrap to cook'
	Open syllables:		
	['ʔa:.ŋot]	/áŋut/	'cry to follow'
	['ʔu:.ŋon]	/úŋun/	'splinter'
	Word final open syllables:		
	[ma.'tʌ:]	/matá/	'eye'
	[ba.'to:]	/batú/	'stone'

Examples. Closed syllables:

i and u:	['tɪŋ.tɪŋ]	/tíŋtiŋ/	'hit/tap'
	['tuŋ.toŋ]	/túŋtuŋ/	'stand on top of'

Open syllables:

[ʔi.'ba:]	/qibá/	'other'
[ʔu.'bo:]	/qubúh/	'cough'

Word final open syllables:

['ta:.ʔi]	/tžqi/	'faeces'
[ta.'ʔo:]	/taqú/	'give'

3.1.2 Vowel phonemes

/i/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All front allophones are unrounded and voiced:

[i] High close front vocoid. Occurs in nonword final, open stressed syllables.

[i]~[ɪ] High close front vocoid fluctuates with high open front vocoid in open prestress syllables.

[i]~[e] High close front vocoid fluctuates with mid close front vocoid in word final, open syllables.

[ɪ]~[ə] High open front vocoid fluctuates with mid close central vocoid in word final poststress closed syllables ending in /r/.

[ɛ]~[ɪ] Mid open front vocoid fluctuates with high open front vocoid in Spanish and English loan words where *e* is written.

[ɪ] High open front vocoid occurs in all closed syllables.

[i] High close front vocoid occurs elsewhere.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

['ʔi:.hɪʔ]	/qíhiq/	'urine'
['hi:.tʌʔ]	/hítaq/	'thigh'
['pri:.to]	/prítu/	'fry' (Sp)
['si:.pɪt]	/sípit/	'clasp under the arm'
['hi:.pɪr]~['hi:.pər]	/hípir/	'store/pack'
['ki:.lɪr]~['ki:.lər]	/kílir/	'underarm'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'
['bɪn.hor]	/bínhur/	'feeling pins and needles'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

[ʔɪt]	/qit/	'*ng* particle'
[pak.'lɪs]	/paklís/	'peeling skin'
[ʔɪ.'pɪt]~[ʔi.'pɪt]	/qipít/	'hair clip'
[rɪ.'ʔɪn]~[ri.'ʔɪn]	/riqín/	'where?'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

[ʔi.'kaw]~[ʔɪ.'kaw]	/qikáw/	'you'
[ni.'dog]~[nɪ.'dog]	/nidúg/	'coconut'
[ʔɪ.'tom]~[ʔi.'tom]	/qitúm/	'black'

Examples. Poststress syllables:

['ka:.tri]	/kátri/	'bed' (Sp)
['gab.ʔi]~['gab.ʔe]	/gábqi/	'night'
[ka.'ba:.di]~[ka.'ba:.de]	/kabádi/	'woman'

The allophone [ɛ] occurs in Spanish and English loan words where the donor language use *e*, but in Bantoanon it fluctuates with the native pattern which uses the high open allophone [ɪ] in the same environment.

Examples of allophones [ɛ]~[ɪ]	[ɪ]:	
['bɛr.de]~['bɪr.de]	/bírdi/	'green' (Sp)
['pwɛ:.ra]~['pwɪ:.ra]	/pwíra/	'except' (Sp)
[mɛr.'ka:.do]~[mɪr.'ka:.do]	/mirkádu/	'market' (Sp)
[mi.'yɛn.trʌs]~[mi.'yɪn.trʌs]	/miyíntras/	'meanwhile' (Sp)

Note: There is one particle in Bantoanon which may be an occurrence of the front vowel preceding /y/ but the phonetic quality of this sequence is uncertain.

Orthographically it is already written *ey* 'already'. Example:

[ʔih] or [ʔiy] or [ʔeh] or [ʔey] /qiy/ 'already'

/a/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All central allophones are unrounded, voiced and open:

[a]~[ʌ] Low central vocoid fluctuates with mid central vocoid in closed syllables.

[a] Low central vocoid occurs elsewhere in all open syllables.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

['ʔa:.ga]	/qága/	'morning'
['ba:.ta]	/báta/	'young'
['tra:.to]	/trátu/	'order' (Sp)
['ʔad.law]~['ʔʌd.law]	/qádlaw/	'day'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['pʌk.pʌk]~['pak.pak]	/pákpak/	'wing'
['ʔʌg.sʌm]~['ʔag.sam]	/qágsam/	'graze'
['pʌn.ti]~['pan.ti]	/pánti/	'fishhook'
['bak.tɪn]~['bʌk.tɪn]	/báktin/	'pig'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

[ma.'tah]	/matá/	'eye'
[sʌk.'yʌn]~[sak.'yan]	/sakyán/	'ride'
[ba.'tʌg]~[ba.'tag]	/batág/	'banana'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

[ʔa.'gor]	/qagúr/	'so that'
[pak.'lɪs]~[pʌk.'lɪs]	/paklís/	'peeling skin'
[traŋ.'ka:.so]~[trʌŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)

Examples. Poststress syllables:

[ʔa.'ba:.ga]	/qabága/	'shoulder'
['sun.rʌŋ]~['sun.raŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'

/u/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All back allophones are rounded and voiced.:

[u]~[o] High open vocoid fluctuates with mid close vocoid inclosed syllables and prestress open syllables.

[o] Mid close vocoid occurs in word final open syllables.

[u] High open vocoid occurs elsewhere.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

['tu:.bɪʔ]	/túbiq/	'water'
['pu:.to]	/pútu/	'rice cake'
['ʔu:.ba]~['ʔu:.ba]	/qúba/	'undress'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['kut.kut]~['kot.kot]	/kútkut/	'dig'
['bug.toŋ]~['bog.toŋ]	/búgtuŋ/	'only child'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

[ʔu.'boh]~[ʔo.'boh]	/qubú/	'cough'
[ʔu.'nor]~[ʔo.'nor]	/qunúr/	'contents'
[tug.'rok]~[tog.'rok]	/tugrúk/	'build'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

[pu.'toh]	/putú/	'youngest child'
[bu.'toŋ]~[bo.'toŋ]	/ɓutúŋ/	'green coconut'
[ʔu.'yu:.nʌn]~[ʔo.'yu:.nʌn]	/quyúnan/	'pillow'

Examples. Poststress syllables:

['su:.so]	/súsu/	'breast'
['sug.bo]~['sog.bo]	/súgbu/	'(sun) sets'

3.2. Consonants

3.2.1. Consonant contrasts

The sixteen consonants are bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal.

	bilabials	alveolars	velars	glottals
stops (voiceless)	p	t	k	ʔ
(voiced)	b	d	g	
fricatives		s		h
nasals	m	n	ŋ	
laterals		l		
vibrants		r		
semivowels	w	y		

The consonant phonemes contrast in the following words. Examples are listed in order of word initial, word medial and word final contrast:

	Examples:		
p and b:	[pu.'noʔ]	/punúq/	'fill'
	[bu.'noʔ]	/ɓunúq/	'stab'
	['ʔʌm.pʌt·]	/qámpuq/	'staunch a wound'
	['ʔʌm.bʌg]	/qámbuq/	'contribution'
	[hu.'yop·]	/huyúp/	'blow'
	[ku.'yob]	/kuyúb/	'capsize'
b and w:	['ba:.gi]	/ɓági/	'wheelbarrow'
	['wa:.gɪt·]	/wágit/	'lose'
	['ta:.boʔ]	/tábuq/	'dipper'
	['ta:.wo]	/táwu/	'person'
	['sʌb.sʌb]	/sábsab/	'chew cud'
	['sʌw.sʌw]	/sáwsaw/	'dip in sauce'
t and d:	[ta.'moŋ]	/tamóŋ/	'blanket'
	[da.'mot·]	/damút/	'hand'

	['sʌn.to]	/sántu/	'saint' (Sp)
	['sʌn.do]	/sándu/	'singlet/vest'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	['pɪd.lɪt·]	/pídlit/	'pinch'
d and r:	['da:.wi]	/dáwi/	'key'
	['ra:.wɪt·]	/ráwit/	'pass something to someone'
	[pu.'doŋ]	/pudúŋ/	'uncircumcised'
	[pu.'roŋ]	/purúŋ/	'headscarf'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	['bʌr.bʌr]	/bárbar/	'wind up'
d and l:	['da:ti]	/dáti/	'formerly'
	['la:.ta]	/láta/	'can/tin'
	['bʌn.da]	/bánda/	'somewhere near'
	['pun.lʌʔ]	/púnlaq/	'seedlings'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	[ba.'tɪl]	/batíl/	'sailing boat'
t and s:	['ta:.ʔob]	/táqub/	'high tide
	['sa:.ʔob]	/sáqub/	'houseclothing'
	['bug.toʔ]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'
	['rug.soʔ]	/rúgsuq/	'kind of fish'
	[pa.'ʔɪt·]	/paqít/	'bitter'
	[ma.'ʔɪs]	/maqís/	'corn'
k and g:	['ku:.yʌŋ]	/kúyaŋ/	'inadequate'
	['gu:.yʌŋ]	/gúyaŋ/	'sow'
	[bʌk.'tin]	/baktín/	'pig'
	[bʌg.'tɪŋ]	/bagtíŋ/	'bell'
	['sa:.bʌk·]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	['sa:.bʌg]	/sábag/	'dry roast'
k and q:	['kʌy.do]	/káydu/	'cook rice'
	['ʔʌy.ho]	/qáyhu/	'pestle'
	['bug.kos]	/búgkus/	'bundle'
	['bug.ʔos]	/búgqus/	'whole'

	['sa:.bʌk]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	['sa:.pʌʔ]	/sápaq/	'river'
k and h:	['ka:.da]	/káda/	'every'
	['ha:.dʌg]	/hádag/	'bright'
	['kot·.kot·]	/kútkut/	'dig'
	['hot·.hot·]	/húthut/	'take advantage of'
	[pi.'lʌk]	/pilák/	'throw out'
	[pi.'lah]	/pilá/	'how much'
g and ŋ:	['gu:.sok]	/gúsuk/	'rib'
	['ŋu:.soʔ]	/ŋúsuq/	'upper lip'
	['bʌg.yo]	/bágyu/	'typhoon'
	['bʌŋ.yo]	/báŋyu/	'fragrant'
	[kʌg]	/kag/	'*ang* particle'
	[kʌŋ]	/kaŋ/	'for/to'
q and zero:	[ʔʌg] (nonword initial contrast)	/qag/	'and'
	[muʔ.muʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
	['mu:.muʔ]	/múmuq/	'spook'
	['ʔa:.moq]	/qámuq/	'our'
	['ʔa:.mo]	/qámu/	'landlord'
q and h:	[ʔa:.'moʔ]	/qamúq/	'monkey'
	[ha.'mo]	/hamú/	'diaper'
	['moʔ.moʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
	['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
	[ʔa.'pʌʔ]	/qapáq/	'mute/dumb'
	[ʔu'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
h and s:	['hi:.mʌʔ]	/hímaq/	'dirt in folds of skin'
	['si:.mʌʔ]	/símaq/	'barb of arrow'
	[ru.'hah]	/ruhá/	'two'
	[ʔu.'sa:]	/qusá/	'one'
	[li'mah]	/limá/	'five'
	[li.'mʌs]	/limás/	'bail water'

s and y:	['sa:.yʌʔ]	/sáyaq/	'sift'
	['ya:.ya]	/yáya/	'weave'
	['pʌŋ.so]	/páŋsu/	'smell of urine'
	[bʌŋ.'yo]	/baŋyú/	'fragrant'
	['pʌs.pʌs]	/páspas/	'hurry'
	['pʌy.pʌy]	/paypay/	'wave something'
m and n:	[mʌn]	/man/	'too'
	[nʌŋ]	/naŋ/	'older woman'
	['ʔa.mʌk·]	/qamát/	'to kindle a fire'
	[ʔa.'nʌk·]	/qanát/	'child'
	[ta.'yom]	/tayúm/	'sharp'
	[ta.'yon]	/tayún/	'leap'
n and ŋ:	['na:.nʌʔ]	/nánaq/	'pus'
	[ŋa.'ŋa:]	/ŋaŋá/	'open your mouth'
	['ʔa:.nʌy]	/qánay/	'termites'
	['ʔa:.ŋʌy]	/qáŋay/	'suitable clothes'
	['pʌn.pʌn]	/pánpan/	'slope towards'
	['pʌŋ.pʌŋ]	/páŋpaŋ/	'cliff'
l and r:	['lu:.gʌy]	/lúgay/	'unbraided hair'
	['ru:.gʌy]	/rúgay/	'long time'
	['ʔtun.lʌn]	/katúnlan/	'rest one's head on'
	['sun.rʌŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'
	[ta.'bɪl]	/tabíl/	'talkative'
	['ka:.pɪr]	/kápir/	'twin'
l and w:	['lɪʔ.lɪʔ]	/líqliq/	'peep'
	['wil.wɪl]	/wílwil/	'to hang loose'
	[ʔi.'lʌg]	/qilág/	'draw back'
	[ʔi.'wʌg]	/qiwág/	'light a lamp'
	['sin.sɪl]	/sínsil/	'to chisel'
	[ʔi.'sɪw]	/qisíw/	'chick'

l and y:	['la:.yas]	/láyas/	'to run away'
	['ya:.ya]	/yáya/	'weave'
	['bʌn.lʌs]	/bánlas/	'landslide'
	['bun.yʌg]	/búnyag/	'water plants'
	[bu.'sʌl]	/busál/	'muzzle'
	[bu.'sʌy]	/busáy/	'waterfall'

3.2.2 Consonant phonemes

The bilabial, alveolar and velar stops have voiceless and voiced phonemes.

Stops: /p/ /b/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. (These bilabial allophones are all voiceless):

/p/	[p˙]	Unaspirated unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[p]~[pʰ]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with the aspirated released stop word initial.
	[p]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

[ta.'hop˙]	/tahúp/	'winnow'
[pu.'to:]~[pʰu.'to:]	/putú/	'youngest sibling'
[ta.'pʌt˙]	/tapát/	'faithful'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution.

/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The two bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ contrast in minimal or near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

[pu.'noʔ]	/punúq/	'fill'
[bu.'noʔ]	/bunúq/	'stab'
['pu:.to]	/pútuq/	'rice cake'
['bu:.toʔ]	/bútuq/	'penis

Examples. Word medial:

['ha:.poʔ]	/hápuq/	'breathless'
['ta:.boʔ]	/tábuq/	'dipper'
[ʔap˙.'ʔʌt˙]	/qapqát/	'four'
[ka.'tab.ʔʌŋ]	/katábqaŋ/	'tasteless'

Examples. Word final:

[hu.'yop·]	/huyúp/	'blow'
[ku.'yob]	/kuyúb/	'capsize'
[ta.'hop·]	/tahúp/	'winnow'
['tak.yob]	/tákyub/	'lid'

Stops: /t/ /d/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. These alveodental allophones are all voiceless:

/t/	[t·]	Unaspirated unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[t]~[t^h]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with an aspirated released stop word initial.
	[t]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

['but·but·]	/bítbit/	'carry in hand'
['ta:.wo]~['t^ha:.wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['pa:.to]	/pátu/	'duck'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/d/	[d]	Voiced alveodental unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final, though not word final.

The two alveodental stops /t/ and /d/ contrast in minimal and near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

['ta:.wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['da:.wi]	/dáwi/	'key'
[ta.'moŋ]	/tamúŋ/	'blanket'
[da.'mot·]	/damút/	'hand'

Examples. Word medial:

[ba.'toh]	/batú/	'stone'
[ba.'doh]	/badú/	'pound'
['san.to]	/sántu/	'saint'
['san.do]	/sándu/	'singlet/vest'
['but·.but·]	/bítbit/	'carry in hand'
['bad.loŋ]	/bádluŋ/	'kind of fish'

Stops: /k/ /g/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. These velar allophones are all voiceless:

/k/	[k·]	Unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[k]~[k^h]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with velar aspirated released stop word initial.
	[k]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

['pʌk·.pʌk·]	/pakpak/	'wing'
['ku:.to]~['k^hu:.to]	/kútu]	'louse'
['tʌŋ.ko?]	/táŋku/	'hit one's head'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/g/	[g]	Voiced velar unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The two velar stops /k/ and /g/ contrast in minimal or near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

['ku:.yʌŋ]	/kúyaŋ/	'inadequate'
['gu:.yʌŋ]	/gúyaŋ/	'sow'
[ki.'nʌ?]	/kináq/	'that'
[gi.'nɪŋ]	/giníŋ/	'water pot'

Examples. Word medial:

['u.'kʌw]	/qúkaw/	'shout'
['lu:.gʌw]	/lúgaw/	'porridge'
['bak·.tɪn]	/báktin/	'pig'
['bag.tɪŋ]	/bágtiŋ/	'bell'

Examples. Word final:

['sa:.bʌk·]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
['sa:.bʌg]	/sábag/	'dry roast'
[ya.'tɪk·]	/yatík/	'make coconut oil'
['ka:.tɪg]	/kátig/	'outrigger'

Stop: /q/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

[?]	Voiceless glottal stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The voiceless glottal stop is contrasted with other voiceless phonemes /t/, /k/, /h/ and /zero/ its own absence in the following examples. It does not contrast with its own absence syllable initial.

Examples. Word initial:

['ʔay.ho]	/qáyhu/	'pestle'
['tay.bo]	/táybu/	'dust'
['kay.do]	/káydu/	'cook rice'
['hay.boʔ]	/háybuq/	'eat greedily'

Examples. Word medial:

[bu.'ʔʌŋ]	/buqáŋ/	'crazy'
[bu.'tʌŋ]	/butáŋ/	'put'
[tu.'kʌŋ]	/tukáŋ/	'a prop'
[ru.'hʌŋ]	/ruháŋ/	'two'
['bug.ʔʌt·]	/búgqat/	'heavy'
['bug.toŋ]	/búgtuŋ/	'only child'
['bug.kos]	/búgkus/	'bundle'
['bug.hʌt·]	/búghat/	'relapse'
['muʔ.muʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
['but·.but·]	/bútbut/	'hernia'
['buk·.buk·]	/búkbuk/	'wood borer'
['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['mu:.muʔ]	/múmuq/	'spook'

Examples. Word final:

['sa:.pʌʔ]	/sápaq/	'river'
[sa.'bʌt·]	/sabát/	'answer'
['sa:.bʌk·]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
[ʔu.'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
['ʔa:.pa]	/qápa/	'ice cream cone'
[ʔa.'pʌʔ]	/qapáq/	'mute/dumb'
['bi:.kʌʔ]	/bíkaq/	'legs apart'
['bi:.kʌt·]	/bíkat/	'aboard'
['ha:.gʌk·]	/hágak/	'asthma'
[bi.'kah]	/biká/	'cracked'
['bi:.ka]	/bíka/	'split open'

Fricatives: /s/ /h/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These fricative allophones are all grooved:

/s/	[š]	Voiceless alveopalatal fricative occurs following the voiceless alveodental stop /t/.
	[ž]	Voiced alveopalatal fricative occurs following the voiced alveodental stop /d/.
	[s]	Voiceless alveolar fricative occurs elsewhere (syllable initial and syllable final).

The affricate sequences occur word medial and in some word initial positions, but since the majority seem to be loan words from languages such as English and Tagalog, and since there are no other unambiguous syllable patterns allowing a CC sequence in native Bantoanon, these have been treated as loan word additions.

Examples:

['tšamba]	/tsámba/	'luck'
['džaryo]	/dsáryo/	'newspaper'
['tšupa]	/tsúpa/	'cup measure'
['džip]	/dsip/	'jeep' (Eng)

Sometimes the alveolar allophone [s] sounds more like the alveopalatal allophone [š] but it is a feature of different ideolects. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is contrasted with the voiceless alveodental stop /t/ in the following examples.

Examples. Word initial:

['sam.bo]	/sámbu/	'foster a child'
['tam.pa?]	/támpa/	'slap one's face'
['sa:.?ob]	/sáqub/	'housedress'
['ta:.?ob]	/táqub/	'high tide'

Examples. Word medial:

['rug.so?]	/rúgsuq/	'kind of fish'
['bug.to?]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'
[lɪt.'šon]	/litsún/	'roast pig'
[bad.'žʌŋ]	/badsáŋ/	'never mind'
['ha:.sʌŋ]	/hásaŋ/	'gills'
['bɑt.šʌg]	/bátsag/	'feel inside'
[tad.'žʌw]	/tadsáw/	'large water pot'
['ba:.sʌg]	/básag/	'break/smash'
['lap.sʌg]	/lápsag/	'infant'

Examples. Word final:

[ma.'?ɪs]	/maqís/	'corn'
[pa.'?ɪt·]	/paqít/	'bitter'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs word final when no other consonant occurs. However when the word final syllable is unstressed the presence of /h/ is so light that it has not been written in this phonetic transcription. When the word final syllable is stressed the friction is stronger, and though it has been written in the phonetic data given in this paper, it has been interpreted as a feature associated with stress.

The fricative /h/, and /s/ are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['hi:.wʌ?]	/híwaq/	'slice'
['si:.pʌ?]	/sípaq/	'kick'

Examples. Word medial:

['?i:.haw]	/qíhaw/	'slaughter'
[ki.'saw]	/kisáw/	'reflex movement'
[ru.'hah]	/ruhá/	'two'
[?u.'sah]	/qusá/	'one'
['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['mus.mus]	/músmus/	'make a face'

Examples. Word final:

[li.'mah]	/limá/	'five'
[li.'mʌs]	/limás/	'bail water'

The fricative /h/ is contrasted with voiceless consonants /q/ and /k/ in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['hi:.wʌ?]	/híwaq/	'slice'
['?i:.lʌ?]	/qílaq/	'envy'
['ki:.lay]	/kílay/	'eyebrow'

Examples. Word medial:

['?u:.haw]	/qúhaw/	'thirst'
['yu.'?aw]	/yuqáw/	'appear/come out'
[?u.'kaw]	/qúkaw/	'shout'

Examples. Word final:

['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['mu?.mu?]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into something'
['muk·.muk·]	/múkmuk/	'full mouth'

Nasals: /m/ /n/ /ŋ/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All nasal allophones are voiced:

/m/	[m]	Bilabial nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
/n/	[n]	Alveolar nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	Velar nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:		
['ma:.may]	/mámay/	'Mommy'
['na:.mo?]	/námuq/	'our (exclusive)'
['ŋa:.sɪŋ]	/ŋásiŋ/	'today/now'
[man]	/man/	'too'
[naŋ]	/naŋ/	'older woman'
['ŋa:.yʌn]	/ŋáyan/	'name'

Examples. Word medial:		
['ʔa:.mʌt·]	/qámat/	'start to leave'
['ʔa:.nʌt·]	/qánat/	'follow/go later'
['ʔa:.ŋʌt·]	/qáŋat/	'raise'
['tam.ʔɪs]	/támqis/	'sweet'
['tan.ʔa]	/tánqa/	'hope to'
['daŋ.ʔɪt·]	/dáŋqit/	'eel'

Examples. Word final:		
['rɪm.rɪm]	/rímrim/	'sip'
['tɪn.tɪn]	/tíntin/	'constantly moving'
['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'
[ta.'yom]	/tayúm/	'sharp'
[ta.'yon]	/tayún/	'leap'
[ta.'yoŋ]	/tayúŋ/	'eggplant'

Lateral: /l/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution

[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The lateral /l/ is not commonly found syllable final.

Vibrant: /r/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These vibrant allophones are all voiced and follow other voiced allophones when they occur in sequence:

[ř]~[dř]	Alveolar flapped vibrant fluctuates with the sequence of alveodental stop followed by alveolar flapped vibrant following alveolar nasal /n/.
[ř]~[r̄]	Alveolar flapped vibrant fluctuates with the alveolar trilled vibrant syllable initial and syllable final.

The fluctuation of allophones [ř] and [dř] seem to be the result of ideolects. The flapped allophone [ř] is the most frequently heard allophone. The occurrences of the allophones of /r/ are illustrated in the following words in word initial, word medial and word final positions.

[ři.'lih]~[ři.'lih]	/rilí/	'here'
['pař.ti]~['pař.ti]	/párti/	'share'
['třa:.po]	/trápu/	'rag/cloth' (Sp)
[třaŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)
['ʔɪn.řa]~['[illegible]	/qínra/	'their'
['li:.gʌř]~['li:.gʌř]	/lígar/	'roll'

The following words illustrate the contrasts between the lateral /l/ and the vibrant /r/.

Examples. Word initial:

['lu:.gʌy]	/lúgay/	'unbraided hair'
['ru:.gʌy]'	/rúgay/	'long time'
[li.'lɪp·]	/lilíp/	'to hemstitch'
[ři.'lih]	/rilí/	'here'

Examples. Word medial:

['gul.pi]	/gúlpi/	'suddenly'
['tuř.pi]	/túrpi/	'stupid'
['pal.ta]	/pálta/	'absent'
['pař.ti]	/párti/	'share'
[ka.'tun.lʌn]	/katúnlan/	'throat'
['sun.řʌŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'
['pun.la]	/púnla/	'seedlings'
['sɪn.řa]~['sɪn.dřa]	/sínra/	'they'

Examples. Word final:

[ba.'tɪl]	/batíl/	'sailing boat'
[ha.'tɪr]	/hatír/	'protruding stomach'
['hi:.mɪl]	/hímil/	'touch/handle'
['ʔu:.mɪr]	/qúmir/	'do for someone'

Examples. Second member of consonant cluster:

[plaŋ.'ga:.na]	/plaŋgána/	'large basin' (Sp)
[třaŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)
['pli:.ti]	/plíti/	'fare' (Sp)
['při:.to]	/prítu/	'fry' (Sp)

Semivowels: /w/ /y/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These nonsyllabic allophones are all voiced, high and close:

/w/	[w]	Back rounded nonsyllabic vocoid occurs syllable initial and syllable final (bilabial vocoid).
/y/	[y]	Front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid occurs syllable initial and syllable final (palatal vocoid).

The two semivowels /w/ and /y/ have been interpreted as consonants on the basis of unambiguous syllable patterns. The bilabial vocoid is /w/ and the palatal vocoid is /y/. There is only one occurrence of a vowel of the same height and frontness preceding the semivowel with the same height and frontness. This is the previously stated example of the particle [ʔey] /qiy/ 'already'. Other than this, /y/ never closes a syllable which has /i/ in the nucleus, and /w/ never closes a syllable which has /u/ as its nucleus. The semivowels are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:		
['wa:.sɪk·]	/wásik/	'sprinkle'
['ya:.sɪk·]	/yásik/	'go beyond reach'
Examples. Word medial:		
['ta:.wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['ba:.yo]	/báyu/	'widow(er)'
['taw.ga]	/táwga/	'call someone'
['tay.bo]	/táybu/	'dust'
Examples. Word final:		
['ki:.lʌw]	/kílaw/	'to eat raw'
['ki:.lʌy]	/kílay/	'eyebrow'
[ʔi.'sɪw]	/qisíw/	'chick'
['puy.puy]	/púypuy/	'to tap'

3.3 Stress

There is contrastive stress in Bantoanon. It is manifested as length on the vowel nucleus of open syllables, but in closed syllables the prominence is usually voice emphasis or loudness. In word final open syllables the vowel has a breathy quality similar to length but phonologically sounding like a vowel followed by [h]. This [h] has been written in the phonetic transcription used in this paper, and even though [h] is a phoneme in Bantoanon, this particular [h] is interpreted as a feature of stress. The only case where this might be questioned is where there is reduplication of syllables ending in [h] such as ['muh.muh] /múhmu/ 'crumbs'. Such a syllable final word medial occurrence of /h/ is rare, but it does occur. Also when words ending in an open syllable (with a phonetic [h] word final) are affixed an /h/ will occur.

A pitch difference is not consistent. Sometimes the whole syllable is also lengthened or there is a slowing of the speed so that the syllables appear so similar that it is hard to distinguish which one is stressed. This difficulty is more noticeable with words of two closed syllables. The contrasting stress in illustrated in the following words.

['tu:.kob]	/túkub/	'devour'
[tu.'kob]	/tukúb/	'strike of a snake'
['ki:.tʌʔ]	/kítaq/	'see'
[ki.'tah]	/kitá/	'we (inclusive)'
['ʔu:.bos]	/qúbus/	'used up'
[ʔu.'bos]	/qubús/	'down below'
['si:.pɪt·]	/sípit/	'to clasp under one's arm'
[si.'pɪt·]	/sipít/	'clothespin'

4. Residue

Numerous consonant clusters appear as a result of the widespread incorporation of loan words into the language. The clusters are combinations which have various consonants as the first member, excluding /q/, /ŋ/, /w/ and /y/. The second member is restricted to /l/, /r/, /s/, /w/ and /y/.

Words having /l/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pl	[plaŋ.'ga:.na]	/plaŋgána/	'large basin'
	['plan.tsa]	/plántsa/	'iron'
bl	[blaŋ.'ki:.ti]	/blaŋkíti/	'talcum powder'
	['blaŋ.ko]	/bláŋku/	'blank'
kl	['kla:.ro]	/kláru/	'clear (understanding)'
	['kla:.si]	/klási/	'class/kind'

Words having /r/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pr	['pri:.to]	/prítu/	'fry'
br	['bra:.so]	/brásu/	'upperarm'
tr	[tra.'ba:.ho]	/trabáhu/	'work'
dr	['dra:.ma]	/dráma/	'a play'
kr	['krɪs.tʌl]	/krístal/	'glass'
gr	['gri:.po]	/grípu/	'faucet'

Words having /w/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pw	['pwɛ:.ra]	/pwíra/	'except'
bw	['bwɪl.ta]	/bwílta/	'to return somewhere'
kw	['kwʌr.ta]	/kwárta/	'money'
gw	['gwa:.po]	/gwápu/	'handsome'
sw	['swɛl.do]	/swíldu/	'wages/salary'

Words having /y/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

py	['lɪm.pyo]	/límpyu/	'clean'
by	['byɛr.nɛs]	/byírnis/	'Friday'
ty	['tyɛm.po]~['tšɛm.po]	/tyímpu/	'time'
dy	['dyaɾ.yo]~['džaɾ.yo]	/dyáryu/	'newspaper'
sy	['syɛɾ.to]	/syírtu/	'certain/sure'
my	['myɛn.tɾʌs]	/myíntras/	'meanwhile'

Words having /s/ as the second member may be affricates in the donor language but are reinterpreted using Bantoanon phonemes. In Bantoanon there is little difference between /ty/ and the affricate *tš/ch*, and between /dy/ and the affricate *dž/j*. The voiceless alveolar affricate [tš] is reinterpreted as /ts/.

ts	[ʔɪ.'tšah]~[ʔɪt.'šah]	/qitsá/	'throw'
	['maɾ.tša]	/mártsa/	'march'
	['tšu:.pa]	/tsúpa/	'cup measure'
	['tša:.nɪʔ]	/tsániq/	'tweezers'

The voiced alveolar affricate [dž] is reinterpreted as /dy/.

dy	[džis]	/dyis/	'ten'
	[džip]	/dyip/	'jeep'
	[ta.'džoŋ]~[tad.'žoŋ]	/tadyúŋ/	'long wraparound skirt'

The syllable initial consonant clusters also result in word medial three member clusters which are not found in native Bantoanon words. Only a few examples have been elicited so far.

['myɛn.tɾʌs]	/myɨntras/	'meanwhile'
['ʔɪs.plɪ.'kaɾ]	/qɪsplikár/	'explain'
['lɪm.pyo]	/lɪ́mpyu/	'clean'
['plan.tša]	/plántsa/	'iron'

There is only one syllable final consonant cluster which has been elicited so far. This is also a Spanish loan word, and the first member is the semivowel /y/.

['pɛr.daym]	/pírdaym/	'amount'

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